

# COLOPHONED HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS PRODUCED IN SPAIN AND THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE LOCALISED CODICES

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Extraordinary historical circumstances which dispersed the Jewish communities around the Mediterranean basin and further eastward, northward and westward, interweaving them within various civilisations, religions, and cultures, and transplanting them within others, have made Hebrew manuscripts significant and valuable for the study and history of the handwritten book in all other civilisations around the Mediterranean in general.

Flourishing or impoverished, secure or oppressed and harassed, small and large Jewish communities were spread out over the Middle Ages from central Asia in the east to England in the west, from Yemen and North Africa in the south to Germany and central and Eastern Europe (in the late Middle Ages) in the north, embraced by the great civilisations of Islam and Christianity, the Latin West, the Byzantine East, and many other minor cultures, languages and scripts. Notwithstanding their firm adherence to their unique religion, language, culture and customs, their self government and educational system, they were strongly influenced by the surrounding societies and shared with them not only goods, tools, crafts and techniques, but also literary styles, aesthetic values, philosophical theories and principles and calligraphic fashions. The mobility of individual Jews, by choice or by economic necessity, and of entire communities by force, made them agents of cross-cultural contacts and influences and

intercultural confrontations.<sup>1</sup>

The small number of dated and colophoned Hebrew manuscripts -- some 4000 -- has made it possible to study and record the codicological features of almost all of them, including their colophons. The Hebrew Palaeography Project (HPP) in Jerusalem, sponsored by the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities in collaboration with the Jewish National and University Library (founded in co-operation with the Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, CNRS, Paris) constructed a very detailed computerised database of all the recorded quantitative codicological variables - physical, technical, scribal and textual features. The database, named SFAR-DATA, has a sophisticated retrieval system of a large number of measurable codicological attributes, which allows elaborate data retrieving, quick sorting, endless querying, linking, classification, clustering and statistical presentations. SFAR-DATA provides us with precise tools for typological characterisation, historical study and palaeographical identification of undated manuscripts on the basis of shared codicological features.<sup>2</sup> Consequently I am able to present exhaustive information relating to scribes and colophons of Hebrew manuscripts produced in the Iberian Peninsula.

Among the extant colophoned, mostly dated, Hebrew manuscripts, one has to distinguish between three, or rather four kinds which are associated with the so-called Sefardic entity. But first, I should clarify the distinction between the typological and topological meaning of the palaeographical and codicological Hebrew term Sefardic entity. *Sefarad* is a Hebrew biblical toponym which was identified already by early translators with Iberia. But Hebrew codicology, as other disciplines, employs the term *Sefardic* not for geographical demarcation but for typological characterisation of book

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<sup>1</sup> See in a detailed manner M. BEIT-ARIÉ, *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West: Towards a Comparative Codicology*, The British Library, London 1993 (*The Panizzi Lectures*, 1992).

<sup>2</sup> For presentations of the database see M. BEIT-ARIÉ *La base de données codicologiques du 'Hebrew Palaeography Project': un outil pour la localisation et la datation des manuscrits médiévaux hébreux*, in *Méthodologies informatiques et nouveaux horizons dans les recherches médiévales: Actes du colloque international de Saint-Paul-de-Vence 3-5 septembre 1990*, ed. J. HAMESSE, [Turnhout] 1992 (Société Internationale pour l'Etude de la Philosophie Médiévale: *Rencontre de Philosophie Médiévale*, 2), pp. 17-67; IDEM, *The Codicological Data-Base of the Hebrew Palaeography Project: a Tool for Localizing and Dating Hebrew Medieval Manuscripts*, in *Hebrew Studies*, ed. D. ROWLAND and Sh. SALINGER, British Library, London 1991 (*British Library Occasional Papers*, 13), pp. 165-197; updated in M. BEIT-ARIÉ, *The Makings of the Medieval Hebrew Book*, Magnes Press, Jerusalem 1993, pp. 41-73; IDEM, *SFAR-DATA: The Henri Schiller Codicological Database of the Hebrew Palaeography Project*, Jerusalem, «Gazette du Livre Médiéval» 25 (Automne 1994) pp. 24-29.

The database was initially installed in a main frame, but later converted into various PC formats of Dbase and FoxPro and is recently being converted into Windows format. Two versions of the system exist currently: A Dos-based system, developed in FoxPro, and a new, still uncompleted, Window-based system, powered with Visual FoxPro 5 development system. The latter system enables a full integration of codicological and numeric data and images of selected pages and the colophons of the recorded manuscripts.

production and script.<sup>3</sup> The distinctive codicological features and the three modes (square, semi-cursive and cursive) of the type of script which characterise Hebrew codices fabricated in Spain since at least the early twelfth century, typify also Hebrew manuscripts produced in other regions and territories which were dominated by Spanish kingdoms either politically or culturally.

Thus, all the surviving dated codices localised in Sicily, which was under the rule of the Crown of Aragon since 1282, show Sefardic physiognomy and should be regarded as an offshoot of the Spanish entity. Likewise, the Iberian type of book spread beyond the Peninsula and across the Pyrenees. Since 1202, the date of the earliest extant localised and dated Hebrew codex in Provence, all the manuscripts produced in Provence and Bas-Languedoc reflect Iberian technical practices, visual configuration and book script. This diffusion of the Iberian booklore followed the political incorporation of a large part of Provence into Catalonia at the beginning of the twelfth century, and the arrival of scholars who fled from Andalusia after the Almohad invasion and the destruction of Jewish centres in the middle of the twelfth century. Consequently, Provence and lower Languedoc were incorporated into the Sefardic scribal entity, as it was culturally integrated with Spanish Jewry in general.

But the Iberian Hebrew scribal entity encompassed also a vast area south east of the Peninsula and across the sea - the Maghreb. All the surviving dated codices fabricated in Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria share with the Iberian manuscripts codicological practices and type of script. However, the North African scribal tradition cannot be depicted as merely an offshoot of the Iberian one. Cultural-historical evidence as well as extant Maghrebi Hebrew codices dating already from the tenth century - about a century and a half before the extant earliest dated Spanish manuscript - attest that North Africa, mainly Tunisia and its main Jewish academic centre Kairuan, which attracted students from Spain, must have been the origin and the inspiration for the Jewish scribal tradition of Iberia. It is very likely that old Maghrebi practices and script were adopted by Hebrew scribes in tenth-century Moslem Spain. The amazing economic and cultural development of the Jewish communities in the Peninsula from one hand and the decline of the Jewish population in the Maghreb soon resulted in an invert process of influence: The dominating consolidated Iberian booklore was imitated by North African scribes at least from the beginning of the thirteenth century on.

The Sefardic scribal entity is therefore a typological definition rather than topological one. It encompassed the type of book production in Hebrew script which

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<sup>3</sup> For a detailed typology of the Sefardic codicological practices see my *Hebrew Codicology: Tentative Typology of Technical Practices Employed in Hebrew Dated Medieval Manuscripts*, Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, Paris 1977 (repr. with addenda and corrigenda: Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Jerusalem 1981); see also *Hebrew Manuscripts of East and West* (cf. *supra*, note 1) pp. 26-29. For a detailed discussion of the Sefardic scripts see M. BEIT-ARIÉ, *La caligrafía hebrea en España: desarrollo, ramificaciones y vicisitudes*, in *Morešet Sefarad: El legado de Sefarad*, ed. H. BEINART, I, Jerusalén 1992, pp. 289-325.

prevailed not only in Iberia (including Majorca), but also in Provence, and Bas-Languedoc in southern France, North Africa and Sicily. But the Sefardic scribal entity is even more complicated. The Iberian scribal type has not only offshoots, but also vicissitudes, which carried it to more distant territories. Migrants from the intellectual élite who left Spain (and Provence) prior to the Expulsion, already by the end of the tenth century, and settled in the east, notably in the Holy Land, Byzantium and to a greater extent, following the persecution of 1393, in Italy, preserved particularly the Sefardic scripts and some of the scribal practices employed in their native town, even handing them over to their descendants. One third of all the dated manuscripts produced in Italy between late fourteenth century and 1500 were copied by Spanish or Provençal immigrant scribes!

With the end of the Jewish presence in Spain and Portugal by the end of the fifteenth century, Spanish scripts and scribal practices spread even further. The exiles, who settled mainly around the Mediterranean basin, continued to write in the scripts of their native land. Furthermore, as their social inventiveness and intellectual superiority left their mark on the societies in which they settled, the Spanish types of the Hebrew script also exerted a great influence on local scripts at the end of the Middle Ages in Italy, Greece, Turkey, and the Near East, and in time also in Western Europe, like Holland. The expulsion caused an upheaval in the traditional script typology of the Mediterranean countries, giving rise to a modified typology dominated by the influence of the Spanish script.

But, even before the expulsion, the Spanish types of script were recognised as superior to all other Hebrew types of scripts, such as the Franco-German (*Ashkenazic*), Italian, Byzantine and the variety of Oriental scripts. This is evident by the fact that the dominating press of Hebrew printing in Italy, that of the Soncino German family, chose to print most of its books in Spanish square and semi-cursive scripts, specially designed and adapted to typographical needs. The Sefardic typefaces of the widely-circulated Soncino books, had a decisive influence on the character of printed scripts chosen and engraved by most following presses to this day.

The choice of Spanish script by the Soncino printers was made not only out of aesthetic consideration, but also, probably mainly, for commercial and marketing reasons, given the wide circulation of Spanish script and its large numbers of users at the eve of the Expulsion.

Undeniably, the extant Hebrew dated medieval manuscripts produced in the Iberian Peninsula and in the offshoots of its scribal tradition in Provence, North Africa and Sicily, comprises 22 percents of the all the surviving dated codices, while those produced in Italy constitute the largest group, which amounts to one third of the entire colophonated corpus. However, if we include in the Sefardic entity also those hundreds of manuscripts which were produced by immigrant Sefardic scribes, all of them written in Sefardic scripts and at least partly displaying Sefardic codicological practices, and exclude those manuscripts from their geographical classification, then, the typological deployment of the extant dated codices is modified. Sefardic manuscripts turn indeed

to constitute the largest group, amounting to one third of all extant manuscripts. The circulation of the Sefardic scripts on the eve of the Expulsion was therefore greater than any other Hebrew script, both in geographical scope and in the number of people who employed them.

Before proceeding to present the data concerning colophoned Sefardic Hebrew manuscripts, I should like to draw your attention to a remarkable dialectical and paradoxical process involved in the evolution, formation and consolidation of the Sefardic entity of the Hebrew book craft. The evidence for this extraordinary phenomenon relates to the history of the Sefardic types of script, but the process probably accommodated also the technical practices of the production of books.

The Iberian Hebrew types of script were not always unified. The Sefardic square, semi-cursive and cursive scripts which prevailed in the Iberian peninsula were crystallised in *al-Andalus* Muslim Spain, and bear witness to their strong affinity to other types of Hebrew scripts which developed in other Muslim territories, were strongly influenced by Arabic script and calligraphy, and were executed by a reed pen. However, this uniform Iberian Sefardic script emerged at a certain time, and had been preceded by a noticeable division. It appears that up to the time of the first *Reconquista*, there was a marked difference between the scripts employed in Christian Spain and Muslim Spain. The sparse available writings of Jews in Andalusia and other parts of Muslim Spain before the first *Reconquista* already show a resemblance to Tunisian documents, but also the distinctive proto Sefardic style. In Christian Spain, on the other hand, at least in Catalonia, up to the first *Reconquista* and even in the course of it, semi-cursive and slightly cursive script of a totally different kind was employed.

To be sure, as you can see in the chronological listing I distributed, the earliest extant Hebrew dated codex localised in Christian Spain was already produced after the *Reconquista* (Gerona, 1184), yet, we have at our disposal strong evidence in the form of documents. These records, which have been written in Christian Spain, mainly Catalonia, since the year 1000, are bi-lingual and bi-scriptural. The documents contain usually deeds of land transactions. The detailed document is written in Latin, accompanied sometimes by a duplicate record, but usually by a shorter version, or just an endorsement, or even only a signature, in Hebrew. These remarkable bi-scriptural records, preserved in Spanish archives, not only demonstrate the adherence of the Jews to their script and language, but reflect their lack of knowledge of Latin, unlike their proficiency in Arabic in the Muslim countries.

The Hebrew writings employed in these documents were executed apparently by quill or bone pen, and they display a style and letter forms close to the Hebrew scripts used in the lands of western Christendom, the early so-called Ashkenazi type of script as known to us from its earliest vestiges, such as the Latin-Hebrew deeds from England, and the early French cursive and cursive scripts, though the dated specimens of these are of a later date. It seems logical to assume that throughout western Christian territories a highly uniform type of Hebrew script was employed up to the end of the

eleventh century, a kind of “Carolingian” Hebrew script, similar in style to the Carolingian Latin script. In the course of the first *Reconquista* from the late eleventh to mid-twelfth century, a paradoxical development took place in Catalonia, which is reflected in the scripts of the extant documents written in Barcelona. The Christian reconquest of areas of Muslim Spain did not lead to the predominance or spread of the Christian European type of script, which was employed in Catalonia, Aragon and León, among the Jews who had formally been under Muslim rule: on the contrary, the Hebrew scripts of Muslim Spain was gradually adopted by the Jews of Christian northern Spain!

All the documents written in Catalonia up to the eighties of the eleventh century bears the hallmarks of the western ‘Ashkenazic’ style. Since 1083, it is already possible to notice the gradual shift to the style and morphology of the current semi-cursive and cursive script typical of Muslim Spain. The latest document known to us in which a Christian style is evident is dated 1112. It is obvious that from the middle of the twelfth century on, all the extant Hebrew documents from Catalonia, Aragón and León, are written in pure Muslim-Spanish scripts. The conquerors, so to speak, rejected their ‘Christian’ western European script and adopted the ‘Muslim’ script of the conquered. The three modes of the script of *al-Andalus* became the only types of Hebrew script used from then on in the Iberian Peninsula, and from then on can be termed as a Sefardic uniform script. This dialectical evolution, or rather revolution, can be explained by the cultural and intellectual superiority of the Jewry in Muslim Spain at that time, which caused the fast diffusion of the southern script once Jewish communities of formerly Muslim and Christian Spain were politically united.<sup>4</sup>

The transformation of the script as is reflected in documents cannot of course prove anything about the technical practices of codex production, but the sweeping spread of the Muslim script may strongly hint that southern codicological features were also adopted.

In presenting information and statistics with regard to colophonated Hebrew manuscripts we have to distinguish, following our comments with regard to the various meanings of the Sefardic entity, between the following centrifugal demarcations within the Sefardic entity:

- Colophonated dated manuscripts specifying Iberian locality of production, mainly in Spain. They amount to 334 palaeographical units (296 written in Spain, 38 in Portugal). The colophons of these manuscripts usually indicate explicitly the locality of copying, but sometimes the locality, or merely the Spanish provenance, can be assumed and firmly substantiated. You can see the listing of these localised manuscripts in the handouts, presented both chronologically and topographically.

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. in detail BEIT-ARIÉ, *La caligrafía* (*supra*, note 3), pp. 293-296.

Since the Spanish script and technical practices were shared by scribes in other territories, only a small number of unlocalised dated manuscripts can be assigned to Spain or Portugal without any doubt.

- Dated manuscripts, mainly localised, produced in the offshoots of the Iberian Jewish booklore, namely, Provence and Bas-Languedoc (115), North Africa (128) and Sicily (22), Altogether 265 palaeographical units.
- Unlocalised dated manuscripts displaying typical Sefardic script and scribal practices which could have produced in any of the areas within the Sefardic codicological zones. These manuscripts amount to 163.

The total number of colophonned dated manuscripts within the Sefardic zone is 762 (400 of them - 52 percents - are localised). To this number should be added 80 undated colophonned manuscripts, some of them localised, which were produced within the Sefardic zone, thus the total number of the colophonned units reaches 842.

- Manuscripts produced elsewhere, mainly in Italy, but also in Greece, the Balkans, Turkey, Syria, Palestine and Egypt, in Sefardic script. This category contains 359 units.

Consequently, the sum total of the extant Hebrew colophonned Sefardic manuscript units is 1201, or 1141 dated units, which constitute almost one third of all the dated Hebrew manuscripts produced in the east and the west.

As you can conclude from the chronological listing of the manuscripts produced in Spain and Portugal, the dated codices furnish us with solid knowledge of the crystallised types of book scripts, scribal practices and codicological techniques in the late Middle Ages. Though we do have significant information on the earlier stages of book production and script in the Orient, we lack such knowledge concerning the formation period elsewhere, including the Iberian Peninsula. In compensation for this drawback of Hebrew medieval palaeography and codicology in general, and the Spanish one in particular, the extant manuscripts supply us with much more precise and firsthand information regarding book production than do Latin manuscripts. The proportion of explicitly dated copies by colophons is much higher among Hebrew manuscripts. Their scribes provide far more information in their frequently long colophons, usually indicating their name and the names of those who commissioned the copying, often specifying the locality where the copy was made, and occasionally letting us know their copying speed, the conditions under which they were working, the quality of their models and their critical ways of reproducing the text.

In general, the colophons of almost half the dated manuscripts specify the locality of production. The proportion of localised codices among extant Iberian manuscripts is 52%. Their geographical distribution is shown in the listing on appendix B, which displays 90 different localities in which Hebrew manuscripts were manufactured in the Peninsula. The high rate of locality specification makes Hebrew colophons indispensable historical sources. Indeed, the only evidences for the existence

of a Jewish community in 16 of the listed towns in Spain (as in France, Germany, Italy, Greece, North Africa and the Middle East) are to be found in colophons. Naturally, the physical, aesthetic and textual nature of the books produced in such a locality, the type of script used, and the number of the surviving manuscripts can shed light on the origin, economic and social status, intellectual interest and the level of literacy of the otherwise unknown community, or hint to its size. Comparisons between the extant book production and the known size of the Jewish community may of course be distorted by the non-representative and accidental survival of the manuscripts, and yet, are illuminating. As you can see, the locality from which the largest number of manuscripts originate is Toledo (27 codices, 38 hands) from the end of the twelfth century until the expulsion. This is not surprising, as Toledo was one of the largest Jewish communities in the Peninsula. However, historians estimate that its population in the fourteenth century consisted of 350 families only including those who lived in the vicinity. Lisbon left us 23 manuscripts, Zaragoza, whose community is estimated to have included 200 families, 14 codices; Sevilla, with the same estimated population - 12 manuscripts, and Catalayud, with an estimated community almost as that of Toledo - 8 manuscripts (10 hands). From Guadalajara, with an estimated very small population of 20-30 families, 5 codices survived, all of them from late fifteenth century.

You are probably struck by the abundance of Hebrew manuscripts which were produced in our host locality, namely Alcalá de Henares. As you see, the fifteen manuscripts were copied right here after the expulsion of the Jews from the Peninsula, so obviously, they could not be produced by a Jew. Nevertheless, they do represent Hebrew booklore and Jewish tradition of book design and scribal practices, since they were produced by an ex-Jew, who, like many others, converted to Christianity. Alfonso de Zamora, whose Jewish name is not known, copied two sorts of Hebrew texts, primarily biblical books, sometimes accompanied by Latin translations, and Hebrew grammatical treatises. His copies are kept today mainly in the University Libraries of Salamanca and Madrid, but also in El Escorial, Madrid's National Library, Rome's Angelica and Paris' BN. Most of the copies were commissioned by ecclesiastic scholars, such as the Cardinal of Toledo, and the activities of Alfonso were essential for the study of Hebrew at Alcala university and apparently earlier at Salamanca, the two academic centres in Spain where Hebrew was taught at that time.

As to the destination of the colophonned copies produced in the Iberian Peninsula - as in all other geo-cultural areas, the Jewish book production was entirely private, and was not initiated or supervised by any kind of establishment, be it religious, academic, or commercial. Books were made individually, either by commissioned professional or occasional scribes, or were owner-produced copies,

made by readers for their own use.<sup>5</sup> The ratio between copies produced by commissioned scribes and those produced by readers for themselves in Sefardic zone demonstrates the particular individual nature of the Hebrew book production in these areas and reflects the extent of literacy - apparently 62 percents of the dated manuscripts are self-made copies.

Finally I should like to draw your attention to the fact that by referring to Hebrew manuscripts I do not mean codices written in the Hebrew language, but rather the Hebrew script.

Despite the adoption of the spoken languages of their accommodating societies in everyday life, the extensive employment of Arabic as the main written language in countries under Muslim rule, and later, to a much lesser extent, the application of European vernacular languages - the Romance languages and German - in their literature, the Jews have always remained loyal, particularly since the ninth century on, to their own script. Ever since their old script was replaced in the late third century BC by an offshoot of the Aramaic script, the Jews have adhered to this Semitic national writing rendering in it not only literary texts and documents written in the Hebrew language, but also other borrowed languages, including the European ones, in transcription.

Old French, Provençal, Catalan, Castilian, Spanish and Italian, Greek and particularly Old High German were assimilated by the Jews, "Judaized" and incorporated into their Hebrew written texts. In the territories dominated by Islam the Jews adopted Arabic not only in daily communication, but also as their main scholarly language, employing it in many important works, from biblical commentaries to philosophy. Yet, except for some early Jewish philosophers and scientists who published medical and astronomical works destined for the non-Jewish public in Arabic script, all those Judeo-Arabic works were written and disseminated in the Hebrew script.

In the Sefardic zone some 7 percents of the surviving dated manuscripts are written in Arabic in Hebrew characters. Apart from North Africa, where Arabic remained the cultural and speaking language, such manuscripts were also produced in Spain, mostly in the Christian parts, as late as the seventies of the fifteenth century. They attest that the knowledge of Arabic was still retained among Spanish Jews long after the *Reconquista*. Some years ago, Prof. Van Koningsveld of Leiden University,

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<sup>5</sup> See M. BEIT-ARIÉ, *Transmission de textes par scribes et copistes: Interférences inconscientes et critiques*, in *Les problèmes posés par l'édition critique des textes anciens et médiévaux*, ed. J. HAMESSE, Louvain-la-Neuve 1992 (Publications de l'Institut d'Études Médiévales de l'Université Catholique de Louvain: *Textes, Études, Congrès*, 13), pp. 173-196; IDEM, *Colophons in Hebrew Manuscripts: Source of Information on Book Production and Text Transmission*, in *Scribi e colofoni: Le sottoscrizioni di copisti dalle origini all'avvento della stampa*, Atti del seminario di Erice, X Colloquio del Comité international de paléographie latine (23-28 ottobre 1993), Roma 1995 (*Biblioteca del "Centro per il collegamento degli studi medievali e umanistici in Umbria"*, 14), pp. 495-504 and tables I-V.

having examined Arabic manuscripts of Spanish provenance in Maghrebi collections, indeed discovered that many of them were commissioned by Spanish Jews, or were owned by them, or even copied by them.<sup>6</sup>

The Iberian Peninsula seems to be the most interesting area of book production and the most intriguing ground for codicological research of either Latin, Arabic or Hebrew handwritten books. This was the only vast territory where three civilisations, Christianity and its Latin script, Islam and its Arabic script, and the minor civilisation of Judaism and its Hebrew script, co-existed and confronted each other. Needless to add that book design, scribal practices and calligraphy of each society were fertilised by this unique, frequently violent, confrontation. The study of Spanish book production in general, be it Latin, Arabic or Hebrew, should be a fascinating challenge.

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<sup>6</sup> P. Sj. VAN KONINGSVELD, *Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts from Christian Spain: a Comparative, Intercultural Approach*, «Israel Oriental Studies» 12 (1992) pp. 75-110; IDEM, *Andalusian-Arabic Manuscripts from Medieval Spain: Some Supplementary Notes*, in *Festgabe für Hans-Rudolf Singer zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. M. FOSTER, Frankfurt am Main 1991, pp. 811-823.

LOCALIZED (MOSTLY DATED) HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS PRODUCED IN  
IBERIA

*A. Chronological Listing*

1119	Valencia	1306	Soria
1184	Gerona	1305-1306	Gerona (2 scribes)
1188	Gerona	1307	Toledo
1197/8	Toledo	1311	Tarragona
1207	Burgos	1311/2	Soria
1222	Toledo	1312	Soria
1227	Toledo	1325	Agramunt
1239/40	Toledo	1325	Barcelona
1241	Toledo	1325-1327/8	Lerida
1253	Zaragoza	1329	Albalate de Cinca
1254	Pina	1332	Mallorca
1256	Toledo	1334	Toledo
1260	Burgos	1334	Toledo?
1260	Toledo	1340	Sevilla
1264	Barcelona	1341	Zaragoza
1272	Toledo	1342	Alcolea de Cinca
1272/3	Burgos	1346	Toledo (5 scribes)
1275	Huesca	1346	Guarda
1276/7	Toledo	1347	Camprodón
1278	Lisboa	1347	Cervera
1277/8	Barcelona?	1347	Falset
1261-1280	Toledo?	1347	Villadiego
1284	Soria	1348	Castelló de Ampurias
1284	Almería	1347/8	Barcelona
1284-1285	Seia	1251-1350	Sevilla
1289	Uncastillo	1352	Mallorca
1290	Úbeda	1355	Alcolea de Cinca
1290	Valencia	1356	Zaragoza
1251-1293	Toledo?	1356	Sevilla?
1251-1293	Toledo	1356	Zaragoza
1298	Toledo?	1360	Trujillo
1300	Tudela	1364	Toledo
1300	Toledo	1366	Toledo
1299-1300	Cervera	1368	Barcelona
1303/4	Soria	1374	Santiago (Portugal)

1379/80	Calatayud	1452	Zaragoza
1380	Barcelona	1454	Laguna de Negrillos
1381	Villadiego	1455	Berlanga
1381	Toledo	1457	Aguilar de Campóo
1382	Lérida	1457	Zamora
1383	Cervera (2 scribes)	1458	Valladolid
1384	Solsona	1461	Béjar
1384	Murcia	1461	Murcia
1386	Sevilla	1461	Calatayud
1388	Solsona	1461/2	Salamanca
1390	Setúbal	1462	Salamanca (2 scribes)
1393	Huesca	1462	Loulé
1396	Castelló de Ampurias	1463	Miranda de Ebro
1397	La Almunia de Doña Godina	1463 1465	Medina del Campo Montblanch
1398	Tórres Vedras	1465/6	Hita
1368-1398	Játiva	1466	Sevilla
1368-1398	Játiva	1467	Elvas
1399	Granada	1467	Buitrago del Lozoya (3 scribes)
1400	Alcaraz		Sevilla
1403	Pamplona (2 scribes)	1468	Calatayud
1404	Zaragoza	1469	Lisboa
1408	Perelada	1469	Moura
1408	Gerona	1470	Guadalajara
1409	Lisboa	1470	Sevilla?
1409/10	Zaragoza?	1470	Maceda
1391-1415	Lisboa?	1470	Sevilla
1419	Zaragoza	1471	Zaragoza
1351-1425	Lucena?	1471	Calatayud (2 scribes)
1433	Madrigal	1471	Aguilar de Campóo
1435	Granada	1471	Sevilla
1436	Zamora	1471	Lisboa?
1437	Segovia	1471/2	Sevilla (2 scribes)
1438	Ávila	1472	San Felices de los Ga- llegos
1439	Villadiego	1471/2	Calatayud?
1441/2	Fea [Spain?]		Lisboa
1442	Málaga	1473	Lisboa
1442	Málaga	1473	La Coruña
1442	Murcia	1473	Zaragoza
1442	Uclés	1472/3	Cuéllar
1444	Agramunt	1474	
1448/9	Peñafiel	1474	

1474	Tauste [Spain?]	1484	Santa Olalla
1474	Calatayud	1484/5	Lisboa?
1474	Sevilla	1485	Almazán?
1475	Calatayud	1487	Villalón de Campos
1475	Pina	1487	Ocaña
1475	Lisboa	1487	Guadalajara
1475	Lisboa	1487	Lisboa
1475/6	Santa Olalla	1487	Segovia
1476	Calatayud (2 scribes)	1487	Lisboa
1476	La Coruña	1487	Cella
1476	Lisboa	1487	Alba de Tormes
1476	Almazán?	1487	Maceda
1476	Frómista	1487	Alcalá (3 scribes)
1476	Toledo	1487	Alcalá
1477	Béjar (2 scribes)	1487	Toledo
1477	Toledo (8 scribes)	1488	Burgos
1477	Almazán?	1488	Zaragoza
1478	Leiria (2 scribes)	1489	Faro
1478	Segovia	1489	Montemayor
1479	Granada?	1489	Lisboa
1479	Córdoba	1489	Zaragoza
1479	Valladolid	1489	Lisboa
1479	Valladolid	1489	Frómista
1480	Granada	1490	Lisboa
1480	Villalón de Campos	1490	Albalate del Arzobispo
1480	Zaragoza	1401-1490	Guadalajara
1480	Toledo	1491	Frómista
1474-1480	Granada	1491	Teruel
1480/1	Frómista (3 scribes)	1491	Ocaña (7 scribes)
1481	Almazán?	1491	Guadalajara
1481	Játiva	1491	Zaragoza
1481	Faro	1491	Segovia
1481	Uclés	1491	Guadalajara
1481/2	Tarazona	1491	Toledo
1482	Lisboa	1491	Lisboa
1482	Segovia	1492	León
1483	Almagro	1494	Évora
1483	Salamanca	1495	Lisboa
1483	Villalón de Campos	1496	Porto
1483	Ávila	1496	Lisboa
1484	Lisboa (2 scribes)	1496	Lisboa?
1484	Tortosa	1492	Toledo

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*MALACHI BEIT-ARIÉ, COLOPHONED HEBREW MANUSCRIPTS ...*

1494

Évora

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1516	Alcalá de Henares
1517	Alcalá de Henares
1519	Alcalá de Henares
1519	Alcalá de Henares
1523	Alcalá de Henares
1526	Alcalá de Henares
1527	Alcalá de Henares
1527	Alcalá de Henares
1528	Alcalá de Henares
1530	Alcalá de Henares
1530	Alcalá de Henares
1532	Alcalá de Henares
1532	Alcalá de Henares
1534	Alcalá de Henares
1536	Alcalá de Henares
1537	Alcalá de Henares
1516-1540	Salamanca
1516-1540	Salamanca

*B. Topological Distribution*

Agramunt	1325; 1444		1306 (2 scribes);
Aguilar de Campóo	1457; 1471		1408
Alba de Tormes	1487	Granada	1399; 1435; 1479;
Albalate de Cinca	1329		1474-1480; 1480
Albalate del Arzobispo	1490	Guadalajara	1470; 1487; 1401-
Alcalá	1487 (3 scribes)		1490; 1491; 1491
<b>Alcalá de Henares</b>	1516; 1517; 1519;	Guarda	1346
	1523; 1526; 1527;	Hita	1465/6
	1527; 1528; 1530;	Huesca	1275; 1393
	1530; 1532; 1532;	Játiva	1398; 1398; 1481
	1534; 1536; 1537	Laguna de Negrillos	1454
Alcaraz	1400	Leiria	1478 (2 scribes)
Alcolea de Cinca	1342; 1355	León	1492
Almagro	1483	Lérida	1325-1327/8; 1382
Almazán	1476; 1477; 1481;	Lisboa	1278; 1409; 1415;
	1485		1469; 1471/2;
Almería	1284		1473; 1473; 1475;
Almunia de Doña Godina	1397		1475; 1476; 1482;
Ávila	1438; 1438		1484 (2 scribes);
<b>Barcelona</b>	1264; 1277/8; 1325;		1484, 1484/5;
	1347/8; 1368; 1380		1487; 1487; 1489;
Béjar	1461; 1477 (2 scri-		1489; 1490; 1491;
	bes)		1495; 1496; 1496
Berlanga	1455	Loulé	1462
Buitrago del Lozoya	1467 (3 scribes)	Lucena	1325-1425
Burgos	1207; 1260;	Maceda	1470; 1487
	1272/3; 1488	Madrigal	1433
<b>Calatayud</b>	1379/80; 1461;	Málaga	1442; 1442
	1469; 1471 (2 scri-	Mallorca	1332; 1352
	bes); 1474; 1475;	Medina del Campo	1463
	1476 (2 scribes);	Miranda de Ebro	1463
	1473	Montblanch	1465
Camprodón	1347	Montemayor	1489
Castelló de Ampurias	1348; 1396	Moura	1470
Cella	1487	Murcia	1384 (2 scribes);
Cervera	1299-1300; 1347;		1442; 1461
	1383 (2 scribes)	Ocaña	1487; 1491 (7 scri-
Córdoba	1479		bes);
Coruña, la	1472/3; 1476	Pamplona	1403 (2 scribes)
Cuéllar	1474	Peñafiel	1448/9
Elvas	1467	Perelada	1408
Évora	1494	Pina	1254; 1475
Falset	1347	Pôrto	1496
Faro	1481; 1489		
Fea	1441/2	Salamanca	1461/2; 1462 (2
			scribes); 1483;
Frómista	1476; 1480/1 (3		1516-1540; 1516-
	scribes); 1489 149		1540
Gerona	1184; 1188; 1305-	San Felices de los Gallegos	1471/2

Santa Olalla	1475/6; 1484
Santiago (Portugal)	1374
Segovia	1437; 1478; 1482; 1487; 1491
Seia	1284-1285
Setúbal	1390
<b>Sevilla</b>	1340; 1251-1350; 1356; 1386; 1454; 1466; 1468; 1470; 1471; 1471; 1472 (2 scribes); 1474
Solsona	1384; 1388
Soria	1284; 1303/4; 1306; 1311/2; 1312
Tarazona	1481/2
Tarragona	1311
Tauste	1474
Teruel	1491
<b>Toledo</b>	1197/8; 1222; 1227; 1239/40; 1241; 1256; 1260; 1272; 1276/7; 1261-1280; 1251- 1293; 1251-1293; 1298; 1300; 1307; 1334; 1334; 1346 (5 scribes); 1355; 1364; 1366; 1381; 1476; 1477 (8 scri- bes); 1480; 1487; 1491
Tôrres Vedras	1398
Tortosa	1484
Trujillo	1360
Tudela	1300
Úbeda	1290
Uclés	1442, 1481
Uncastillo	1289
Valencia	1119; 1290
Valladolid	1458; 1479; 1479
Villadiego	1347; 1381; 1439
Villalón de Campos	1480; 1483; 1487
Zamora	1436; 1457
<b>Zaragoza</b>	1253; 1341; 1356; 1356; 1404; 1409- /10; 1419; 1452; 1471; 1474; 1480; 1488; 1489; 1491

## RESUMEN

*El escaso número de manuscritos hebreos datados y dotados de colofón -unos 4.000- ha permitido estudiar y recoger las características codicológicas de casi todos ellos, inclusive de sus colofones. El Proyecto de Paleografía Hebrea (HPP) de Jerusalén elaboró una detallada base de datos computerizada de todas las variables codicológicas cuantitativas - características físicas, técnicas, textuales y de los escribas. La base de datos, denominada SFAR-DATA, tiene un sofisticado sistema de búsquedas de un gran número de atributos codicológicos mensurables, lo cual permite la recuperación de datos y realizar rápidos ordenamientos, infinitas preguntas, enlaces, clasificaciones, agrupamientos y presentaciones estadísticas. SFAR-DATA nos provee de herramientas sofisticadas para la caracterización tipológica, estudio histórico e identificación paleográfica de manuscritos no datados sobre la base de componentes codicológicos compartidos. En consecuencia, me es posible presentar información exhaustiva relativa a copistas y colofones de manuscritos hebreos elaborados en la Península Ibérica.*

## SUMMARY

*The small number of dated and colophoned Hebrew manuscripts -- some 4000 -- has made it possible to study and record the codicological features of almost all of them, including their colophons. The Hebrew Palaeography Project (HPP) in Jerusalem constructed a very detailed computerised database of all the recorded quantitative codicological variables - physical, technical, scribal and textual features. The database, named SFAR-DATA, has a sophisticated retrieval system of a large number of measurable codicological attributes, which allows elaborate data retrieving, quick sorting, endless querying, linking, classification, clustering and statistical presentations. SFAR-DATA provides us with precise tools for typological characterisation, historical study and palaeographical identification of undated manuscripts on the basis of shared codicological features. Consequently I am able to present exhaustive information relating to scribes and colophons of Hebrew manuscripts produced in the Iberian Peninsula.*

## RÉSUMÉ

*Le petit nombre de manuscrits hébraïques datés et imprimés-environ 4000-a rendu possible l'étude et l'enregistrement des particularités codicologiques de la plupart d'entre eux, en incluant leurs imprimés. Le projet de paléographie hébraïque (HPP) de Jérusalem a établi une base de données très détaillée prenant en compte toutes les variables codicologiques, physiques, techniques, ainsi que les particularités du scribe ou textuelles. La base de données, nommée SFAR-DATA, a un système de recherche sophistiqué doté d'un grand nombre d'attributs codicologiques, lequel permet d'élaborer des recherches de données, rapidement triées, interrogeables à l'infini, établissant des liens, des classifications, des regroupements, et des présenta-*

*tions statistiques. SFAR-DATA nous fournit des outils précis pour une caractérisation typologique, l'étude historique et l'identification paléographiques de manuscrits non datés sur la base de particularités codicologiques partagées. En conséquence, il m'est possible de présenter une information exhaustives concernant les manuscrits et colophons des manuscrits produits dans la Péninsule Ibérique.*